

made this country work, and he talked about them often. He talked about the values of faith, of family, of freedom, of work and personal responsibility, and he believed deeply that Government policy ought to reinforce those values and that liberal programs, no matter how well intentioned, have had the net practical effect of undermining those values.

I remember, too, the day that he left office. It was a poignant moment for me, because I was watching when President Bush was sworn in, and at the end of the ceremony he and Mrs. Reagan walked out on the east side of this building. They turned around and he saluted to President Bush. Then he got up on the stairs to get on the helicopter which was to take him to the airport to take him back to California.

I will never forget, I was watching this, my wife and I, who are both big Ronald Reagan fans, and I turned to my wife Mary and I said, "You know, he was a long time coming, he'll be a long time gone." It will be a long time before we see a President like President Reagan who could communicate so clearly to the American people, and indeed to the world. I want to thank the gentleman from Arizona for having this special order.

I want to thank you, Mr. President, for all that you did for me, all that you did for the American people, and all that you did for all the freedom-loving people of the world. You will always be a blessing to us and you will always be that symbol that speaks to the best in the American people, that appeals to our best hopes, not our worst fears. I thank you, Mr. President. I wish you a happy birthday, and may God bless you.

Mr. HAYWORTH. Reclaiming my time, I would like to thank the gentleman from Minnesota for his perspective. It is worth noting, as the gentleman from Minnesota points out, Mr. Speaker, that President Reagan's observations still make the point today. Indeed, in a speech delivered about a year ago the President said these words, and I think they still pertain to our situation today:

After watching the State of the Union address the other night, I'm reminded of the old adage that imitation is the sincerest form of flattery. Only in this case it's not flattery but grand larceny, the intellectual theft of ideas that you and I recognize as our own. Speech delivery counts for little on the world stage unless you have the convictions and, yes, the vision to see beyond the front row seats.

How important that is, Mr. Speaker. My friend from Minnesota was absolutely correct. Words do mean something. Promises must be made but, more importantly, promises must be kept. It is the vision that President Reagan spoke of in his inaugural address, on that day in January of 1981, that made the point so well:

It is not my intention to do away with government. It is, rather, to make it work, work with us, not over us, stand by our side, not ride on our back. Government can and must

provide opportunity, not smother it; foster productivity, not stifle it.

Indeed as the words are bandied about on this floor, as the epithets are hurled, remarks of blackmail and extortion and extremist, let us remember the observation of Mark Twain, that history does not repeat itself but it rhymes. And as President Reagan embraced the vision of Abraham Lincoln, that the American people once fully informed would make the right decision, let us dedicate our work and our labors in this legislative branch of Government to that same endeavor, recognizing that good people can disagree, recognizing that in a free society debate leads to decision, and also recognizing the contributions of a great American.

Mr. Speaker, let us wish the happiest of birthdays to Ronald Wilson Reagan as he approaches his 85th, and let us remember his example and do all that we can to ensure that his vision of America, a vision that harkens back to our founders, is remembered, not for its novelty, not for cutting back, to seem to embrace antiquity, but because it embraces the basic goodness of the American people and an undying optimism that is uniquely American. Happy birthday, Ronald Reagan.

ONGOING BUDGET DEBATE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. JONES). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. GUTKNECHT] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. GUTKNECHT. Mr. Speaker, after the last hour we would like to talk a little bit about what is happening with the budget. The gentleman from Arizona is going to join me for a while and I believe one of my freshman colleagues from Idaho is going to join us in a little bit.

I know that the gentleman from Arizona, I do not believe he had a chance to join us in Baltimore over the weekend, but I think we should maybe take a few minutes to talk about, because I know the press has talked a lot about what has happened in the budget negotiations of recent and that somehow, I know that within the course of just a couple of weeks, in referring to the freshmen, we have been described as being mean spirited, and then last week we were being described as being dispirited. I think the only thing I can honestly say is, we are still spirited as freshmen, are we not?

I yield to the gentleman from Arizona.

Mr. HAYWORTH. I thank my friend for yielding. Yes, I was unable to be at the freshman advance—note, Mr. Speaker, we do not use the word "retreat" in any way, shape, or form—with the freshman advance, and I was interested to read the comments in one East Coast newspaper, "Humbled Freshmen Regroup," or words to that effect.

Mr. Speaker, my good friend from Minnesota shares the same sense of

honor and awe that comes with serving in this House. Indeed, as old man eloquent John Quincy Adams said upon his election, after serving as President, upon his election to the House of Representatives, there is no higher honor than service in the people's House.

Mr. Speaker, and to my friend from Minnesota, I think what confounds the fourth estate is that though we are honored and awed to serve here, we understand that we were sent here to change business as usual, and the spirit remains and the almost, you could see it coming a mile off, from my days in the media, we were bound to get a story at the halfway point that, gee, some folks have grown, that is, they have accepted the ways of Washington; some people have matured, that is, they have been willing to accept compromises in certain ways, and that somehow reasonableness, the Washington definition, higher spending, higher taxes, more big Government, and an abandonment of campaign promises, that type of reasonableness had infected our ranks.

Well, Mr. Speaker and to my colleague from Minnesota—I am sure he will join me on this—we do not for a minute accept the Washington definition of what is reasonable. Our mission is to serve our constituents and the American public who have the ultimate wisdom, who understand what is reasonable, who know what it is like to sit around a kitchen table and try to make ends meet, who know what it is to try and pay the tax man, who understand the notion not only of trying to pay the tax man and trying to take care of their many obligations but also who look for unlimited economic growth, who try time and again to deal with the impediments that this Government has placed upon them in trying to start a business, in trying to create jobs, people who are willing to see this economy grow if only the shackles are taken off and truly a free market is embraced.

Mr. GUTKNECHT. This sort of goes back to the discussion we were having in the last hour. While they continue to try and belittle Reaganomics, the facts are stubborn things. The economy grew at an unbelievable rate during the 1980's, in part because there was a commitment to lower taxes, to less regulation, and to smaller Government.

It was not complete, but we have the opportunity now to complete that revolution and really free up the free enterprise system, to free up the American people, because the Government does not create jobs, the Government does not create wealth. Businesses do. People do. We have got to allow them to have more control over their futures. That is what this is about.

I think it is important that we have this discussion, because I think there is a view out there perhaps that now we have been tempered now after a year, and that our basic goals and our basic mission and our basic visions of what ought to happen in Washington have

changed. I do not think that is the case at all.

I think we still understand who it is that controls the wealth, who it is that creates the jobs, who it is that can do the best job in helping to shape America's future. It certainly is not bureaucrats here in Washington. It obviously is people out in communities like Phoenix and like Rochester, MN, and all across the fruited plain.

It is people out there who Ronald Reagan believed in that are going to make the difference, that are going to make this a better country. It is not 5 trillion dollars' worth of debt. We look at the welfare issue. Maybe we can talk a little bit about that.

Unfortunately, sometimes when we talk about restructuring and reforming and in fact starting over with a blank sheet of paper, hopefully with the States having far more control in determining what kind of a system they are going to have to help people who truly need help. And I think there is a genuine commitment on all of our parts that when people genuinely need help, we should help them, but we should also find the most efficient way, and that the definition that we have used in the past of helping people simply has not worked.

I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. HAYWORTH. Again recalling the words of President Reagan, and I think this rings so true today, "The size of the Federal budget is not an appropriate barometer of social conscience or charitable concern."

Indeed what we have seen for the past half century is a usurpation, if you will, of charitable concerns by the Federal Government. None of us here are willing to abandon the notion of a safety net for those less fortunate, for those who may face physical challenges, for those who may face mental challenges, for those who literally have no way to take advantage of the freedom that they have to better themselves.

□ 1415

But what so tragically has happened, with oftentimes the best of intentions, is that we have turned the safety net into a hammock, and that we have made it more lucrative for some to stay away from work and that we have, in the words of one official from a charitable organization with whom I visited in the 6th District of Arizona, he said to me, "You know, J.D., the Federal Government basically stepped into my line of work about 30 years ago, and they have taken over the bulk of it."

Now, we have a fundamental debate going on. But to those who would claim it is mean-spirited, it is extreme to look at restraining the rate of growth of Government, to those who would claim it is selfish or somehow ignoble, or less than honorable to allow the American people to hang onto more of their hard-earned money, to those who would accept the misguided notion that it is the Government that controls

the wealth, that it is the Government that should be the catalyst for every program from soup to nuts, from cradle to grave, that it is the Government with whom the power resides, they are ignoring one basic fact of our remarkable constitutional republic. Our Founders who composed this document believed this, and I believe though good people can disagree, we should understand this, in this Nation it is the people who are sovereign, and it is the people who confer power upon the Government. This Government belongs to the people, and again, to quote President Reagan, Government is the people's business, and every man, woman and child becomes a shareholder with the first penny of tax paid.

There is nothing dishonorable and there is nothing selfish and there is nothing mean-spirited about the average American family which now spends more on taxes than on food, shelter, and clothing combined hanging onto more of their income. There is nothing ignoble about letting a small business owner be free of the shackles of capital gains taxation which would limit growth and economic expansion. There is nothing ignoble about empowering the people. Good people can disagree, to be sure.

But we must work, as we have this historic debate, to listen to the people, to understand their concerns, and to deal with these concerns in what some would call a new way, but what I would maintain is the way that has improved this Nation since its foundation, not reinventing Government, but remembering those principles embodied in our Constitution, recognizing there is room for dissent and debate, but moving to do the people's business, because we are stewards of their money, and the Government has taken from them, not that the Government gives to everyone else.

Mr. GUTKNECHT. I think one of the most frustrating, and there are many frustrating parts about the debate we have been having in Washington about restructuring the way Government works and what functions should be done at the Federal level, downsizing Federal Government. One of the most frustrating things is facts do not mean anything anymore, at least according to some people.

If you look at the facts, there is overwhelming amounts of evidence to suggest the Great Society has failed. In fact, even President Clinton in some respects when he gave his State of the Union Address the other night said the era of Big Government is over. I think he said that several times during his speech. But yet, the next day it was like some of the Members of this body did not hear that or do not agree with that or do not share that particular view.

But I think we have to look at the facts. Facts are stubborn things. If you look at the facts about what has happened to the welfare state over the last 30 or 40 years, we have spent \$5 trillion,

and if you want to see the evidence of what we have gotten for \$5 trillion, you do not have to go very far from this building, because Washington, DC is perhaps the greatest social welfare experiment of any city.

In fact, if you go around Washington, D.C., you will see the product that we have produced. We have created debt. We have created dependency. We have created despair. If you look at the housing projects, for example, here in Washington, DC, 80 percent of the violent crime in the city of Washington is committed within two blocks of a Federal housing project. Some people believe the answer is more and bigger Federal housing programs. We believe it ought to be decentralized.

We also understand there are some people who need some help. Maybe they need a voucher. We certainly do not need a large Department of Housing and Urban Development based here in Washington, DC, that has created what is has created, and that is throughout the entire social welfare system. It has been an abysmal failure.

The facts demonstrate that, and yet so many of our colleagues want to ignore the facts.

Now, is our answer perfect? No, absolutely not. But it cannot be any worse than the system that has been created over the last 30 or 40 years. That is the important point.

I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. HAYWORTH. I thank my friend from Minnesota. Yes, it was with great interest and, indeed, somewhat of surprise, although I expected in part the rhetoric that came from the President the other night when he said the days of Big Government are over, and now the challenge becomes, Mr. Speaker, for this President to join with this new majority and to really live up to that notion.

I ran into a reporter who will remain nameless, from one of the major television networks. "How is it going, Congressman?" "Great." "Did you see the headlines in the paper? It says President embracing GOP agenda." This reporter said, "You managed to make victory look like defeat." I said, "No, sir, with all due respect, you have. There is great reason to be optimistic. The President has now at least turned the page and changed the terms of debate and has taken a look at fiscal responsibility. Yes, there are many details to be worked out. Let us rejoice in that realization."

Mr. GUTKNECHT. I think that is the good message. We talked about the incurable optimist President Ronald Reagan was.

If you talk about the freshman class, you will see incurable optimists. While we have stubbed our toes and made a few mistakes and have not accomplished all we wanted to accomplish, the bottom line, the truth of the matter is the entire fulcrum of this debate has moved, and even the President now

is acknowledging the era of Big Government is over and big Washington solutions to all of our problems are not the answers.

And now we may not win on every point now, but it is not really a matter of whether we win or the President wins, the Republicans versus Democrats. The real issue is whether the American people win. This is not a battle between Republicans and Democrats. It is a battle between those who believe that the Government is the answer to most of our problems and those who believe that government is a big part of a lot of our problems; those who believe that Big Government solutions are the way to solve problems and those who believe we ought to decentralize and let individuals have more responsibility and authority in their lives, and we start with that basic premise, we the people. The three most important words are "We the people."

What has happened over the last several months has obviously given us a better education about how this place works, but it has not changed our optimism. It has not changed our view. We may have to change our tactics somewhat. We are not going to keep this Napoleonic, all lined up in a straight line and let people stand behind trees and fight a guerilla war; we are not going to change the goals, not going to change principles, not going to change what we came here for. As long as the people keep sending us back, we are going to fight for the fundamental principles President Reagan talked about, that we fought for in the last election. We are not going to give up. The freshman class is not going to change.

WE MUST GET PAST THE CLICHES

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12 1995, the gentlewoman from Ohio [Ms. KAPTUR] is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, I would like to yield to the distinguished Member from the great State of Montana, Mr. WILLIAMS, who announced a little earlier in the month that he would not be returning after this year, and that is a great disappointment, not just to myself as a Member of this body, but to every person in this country.

Few know this man. Let me say to the people of Montana, you sent the best.

Now you can say whatever you want to say.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I thank the gentlewoman very much for yielding.

I first want to say to my colleague and friend, the gentlewoman from Ohio [Ms. KAPTUR], how pleased I am with your kind and overly generous introduction and thoughts about me.

But I am here for another year. One of the reasons I am glad enough for that is I continue to get to work with the gentlewoman.

We have just heard on the House floor an argument for apple pie and motherhood and American flags. The previous speakers, it seems to me, are well-intentioned, but nonetheless were just filled with cliches. They condemned debt dependency and despair, they talked about fighting for fundamental principles, they condemned more and bigger government, and accused only one side of the aisle of being for that awful thing, talked about bloated regulations and big Washington solutions. I really did not hear anything they said with which I disagreed. It is just that almost everything they said, in my judgment, was somewhat meaningless and mostly cliches.

One has to, it seems to me, in difficult times like this get past cliches and move to facts if we are really to change this Government and our response to people in the way they want. For example, let me take education. I serve on that committee. There has been for at least a decade, and particularly for the past year, howls coming out of this Chamber about the fat bureaucracy in education. So that is the cliché.

Whether one, however, bothers, takes a few minutes to check the facts, you find out that in the schools of this country, central office personnel constitute less than 2 percent of school employees. We have heard, particularly during this last year on the floor of the House, a lot of talk about regulations in the schools, mandates from Washington, horrible regulations, how bad they are, how overwhelming, overwhelmingly destructive they are, but when you look at the facts of it, you find out some interesting things.

Goals 2000 has no regulations. School-to-work legislation, relatively new, school-to-work law, no regulations. Under President Clinton, who came to office believing there were too many regulations, the Department of Education has eliminated two-thirds of the regulations surrounding elementary and secondary education in this country. Now I know there is a little cloud that follows President Clinton around, that no-credit cloud, he never gets any credit, but he has eliminated two-thirds of the elementary and secondary regulations in this country.

A Member of this House, I will not name him or his State because it would not be fair, he is not here today, said about a week ago, speaking from the well of the House not far from where the gentlewoman from Ohio is standing, he said to the American people over C-SPAN with how many people listening, 100,000, 200,000, 1 million, 2 million, he said, You know, folks, I am not quoting him, I am paraphrasing him, I will quote him in a second, he said, You know, the problem, with Federal expenditures is only 23 cents of the dollars that we appropriate ever leaves Washington, only 23 cents on the dollar ever leaves Washington and gets down to the student; the rest of it, he said, feeds the Federal bureaucracy. So out

of a dollar, he is saying only 23 cents gets to the student.

Now, I suppose, what, hundreds of thousands, millions of people heard that. It is totally inaccurate when one checks the facts. The Department of Education in Washington DC, has the best, lowest overhead administrative record of any department. The Defense Department would kill for a record as good as the Department of Education has; less than 2 percent, less than two cents of every dollar is used for the bureaucracy, for the overhead here in Washington, DC. So one needs to get past the cliches. One needs to get past the mistakes, some of them I think quite intentional.

One really needs to get down to the facts, particularly, I want to say as I conclude, particularly in this representative democracy of ours, where the citizens need the facts if they are to make proper choices in November and on election days at the ballot box. If they are to place upon their elected representatives their will, their choices, their options, those must be based on facts—not cliches, not myths, not intolerance, not lack of compromise—facts.

□ 1430

Again, I am appreciative of the gentlewoman sharing some of her time with me.

COME SHOP WITH ME AT SCOTT PAPER CO.

Ms. KAPTUR. I will reclaim my remaining time. I thank the gentleman very much for offering that important clarification. I think one of the difficulties is when you have a large number of new Members that are elected, it takes a long time to learn the ropes, and sometimes perhaps people speak out before they check the facts. I think the gentleman's commentary this afternoon is helpful to the country.

Let me say I come down here for a similar reason, and that is to offer a word of caution to Members of the freshman class, especially on the Republican side of the aisle, who this past Friday held a retreat. According to the press accounts, the purpose of the retreat was to reflect on how their best-laid plans for the so-called revolution went awry and to reflect why the American people have turned their backs thus far on their message.

There was an article in my local paper, the Toledo Blade, last Saturday, which I am going to submit for the RECORD, which talks about the fact that this group of new Members was very concerned after the President's State of the Union that he was able to get his message across to the country, but that their leadership, according to this quote in the newspaper, that their leaders did not understand the importance of what they are calling communication. They were criticizing some of their leaders as too in your face, too extreme, too ideological. In order to help them out of this mess, one of the speakers that was invited to the retreat was the chief executive officer of Scott Paper Company.